

On the Argument Structure of FI and FP Causatives

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1. Introduction: Causatives as little *vs*

Romance causative verbs like Italian *fare* are not morphological affixes, but they exhibit several properties that suggest that they are not always ‘main’ verbs. Indeed, recent analyses of *fare* have relied on treating it as a sort of affixal causative, exploiting incorporation to capture some of the clause-union effects with respect to case and thematic roles (Guasti 1996). In this paper, causativizing *fare* is treated as the (non-affixal) realization of a causative little v° head. We argue that a refinement of the little v° approach, involving two distinct external-argument selecting v° heads, permits a fine-grained analysis from which many of the subtle properties originally identified in Kayne (1975) and subsequent work simply fall out. In particular, a minor enrichment of the inventory of v° heads allows us to account for a broad range of syntactic and semantic facts without recourse to any lexicon-internal operations on argument structure, which have been a mainstay of previous analyses. Most importantly, the different properties of the two distinct v° heads proposed here predict certain interactions between *fare* and its complements, and this leads to an account of a previously unnoticed constellation of facts about the interaction of *fare* with unaccusative and unergative verbs.

2. Background: Faire Infinitif vs. Faire Par

Since Kayne (1975), it has been recognized that Romance causatives with *faire* (and cognate *fare* in Italian) fall into two classes, the *faire par* (FP) and *faire infinitif* (FI). In French causatives, there are two possible case-markers for the embedded Causee: the preposition *par* ‘by’, or the preposition *à*, ‘to’. Kayne (1975), Burzio (1986), and others have shown

* We would like to thank the organizers and audience of WCCFL XXIII, as well as audiences of NASC at Concordia University and IGG 2003 XXX. Folli’s work was supported by a postdoctoral fellowship from the British Academy.

that the difference in preposition corresponds to several syntactic and semantic differences between the two types of causative. We summarize these below, giving a suite of examples following to illustrate each point:

- A. The Causee of a transitive embedded verb is marked with dative case (*a*, 'to') in the FI, and by a preposition (*da*, 'by'), in FP. (1)
 - B. Idioms are available in the FI but not in the FP. (2)
 - C. The *a* phase in the FI can bind the embedded object, while the FP *da* phrase cannot. (3)
 - D. The Causee may be omitted in the FP but not the FI. (4)
 - E. There is a sense of obligation on the Causee in the FI but not in the FP. (5)
- (1) Mario ha fatto riparare la macchina a Gianni / da Gianni.
Mario has made repair the machine to Gianni / by Gianni
'Mario made Gianni repair the machine'

In this example, the lexical difference between the prepositions *a* and *da* is the string-visible difference between the FI and the FP.

- (2) Il a fait cassé la croûte à sa famille / by his family
He has made break the crust to his family / #by his family
(idiomatic interpretation) 'He made his family have a snack.'

Here, in an example from Kayne (1975), we see that the phrase *casser la croûte*, 'break the crust', can get its idiomatic interpretation, 'have a snack', in the FI but not in the FP.

- (3) a. Gianni_j ha fatto temperare la sua_{i/j} matita a ogni ragazzo_i
Gianni has made sharpen the his pencil to every boy.
'Gianni made every boy sharpen his pencil.'
- b. Gianni_j ha fatto temperare la sua^{*}_{i/j} matita da ogni ragazzo_i
Gianni has made sharpen the his pencil by every boy.
'Gianni caused his pencil to be sharpened by every boy.'

In these examples from Burzio (1986), we see that the pronoun *sua*, 'his', can be bound by a quantified Causee in the FI in (3), but not by a quantified Causee in the FP in (3).

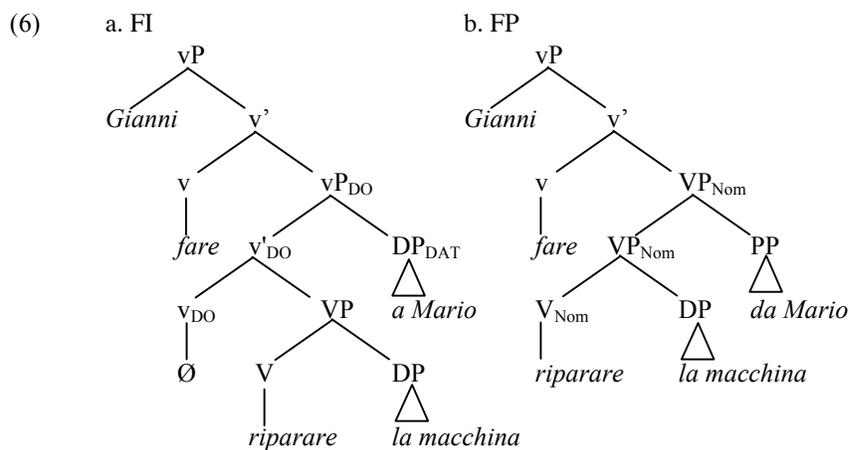
- (4) La maestra ha fatto prendere la medicina *(al bambino).
The teacher has made take/*(ingest) the medicine to.the child.
'The teacher made the child take/ingest the medicine.'

This example, from Guasti (1996), illustrates an argument from Pearce (1990). The expression *prendere la medicina*, ‘take the medicine’, can be interpreted idiomatically as ‘ingest the medicine’ in the FI but not the FP, as for *casser la croûte* in (2) above. When the Causee phrase is absent, the idiomatic ‘ingest’ interpretation is unavailable, indicating that the Causee-less structure is a FP, not a FI.

- (5) Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina ??al meccanico/dal meccanico.
 Gianni has made repair the car to.the mechanic/by.the mechanic
 ‘John made the mechanic repair the car.’

Finally in (5) we see that when the situation is such that the Causee is someone who normally would have control of the event in the complement VP, as in the case of a mechanic repairing a car, the FI is awkward, while the FP is not. We observe that this is a reflex of the sense of an obligation being imposed on the Causee in the FI, that is not imposed in the FP.

The structures we propose for the FI and FP are exhibited in (6) below:



Following Guasti (1986), we assume that specifiers at and below the vP level are on the right in Italian; hence, the Causee in the FI appears after the embedded direct object, although it is the specifier of an embedded vP, in

an Agent argument position.¹ In contrast, in the FP, the *da*-phrase PP is adjoined to a VP, rather than appearing in an argument position.

From these two structures, the properties of the two constructions listed above in A-D follow. Because in the FI the entire argument structure of the embedded verb is present, the idiomatic readings are available, while in the FP the embedded verb appears without its Agent-selecting vP, and consequently cannot be interpreted idiomatically. The DP Causee in the FI c-commands the embedded object, and hence can bind into it, while the DP within the adjoined PP Causee in the FP doesn't c-command out of the PP and consequently cannot bind the embedded object. Finally, because the PP in the FP is an adjunct, it is expected to be optional, while the dative argument Causee in the FI is not. In the FP, the vP-less complement verb is structurally agentless, giving rise to the many observed parallels between the FP complement and passive constructions.

The explanation of property E, the obligation requirement in the FI, depends in the present account on an enrichment of the inventory of v° : the idea that some external-argument-selecting v° s are DO. Such v° s impose restrictions on their external argument, in particular, their external argument must be an Agent. We turn to a discussion of the properties of v_{DO} and its close relative, v_{CAUSE} , in the next section.

3. Flavors of v : v_{DO} and v_{CAUSE}

Hale and Keyser (1994 et seq.) gloss their external-argument selecting v° differently in different constructions. Unergative verbs like *run*, for instance, are paraphrased as *DO a run*, while change of state verbs like *open* are paraphrased as *MAKE* or *CAUSE open*. We argue, with Harley (1999), that this difference in 'gloss', rather than being simply a descriptive convenience, actually reflects two different primitives of the v° inventory.

Folli and Harley (2004a) propose, following Harley (1999), that different external-argument-selecting little *vs* also select for different kinds of complements²: true intentional-agent-selecting v_{DO} can take a nominal complement, while the v_{CAUSE} which selects for Causer external arguments requires a small-clause complement. Consequently, when a DP which can

¹ We also assume that the subject of *fare*, itself a v° , is also actually in a rightwards specifier, but ends up linearly to the left of the raised finite verb by virtue of A-movement to the rightwards spec of TP. We choose to illustrate it here incorrectly, on the left, so that readers can connect the linear order of the example sentences to the trees easily. For a discussion of the motivation for the choice of representing specifiers on the right see Folli and Harley (2004b)

² Notice that there is a third flavor of little *v*, v_{BECOME} , which doesn't select for an external argument and hence is not relevant here.

be interpreted only as a Causer, not as an Agent, appears in the external argument position of vP, it imposes an interpretation on the sentence according to which $v^\circ = v_{\text{CAUSE}}$ and thus forces the complement to v° to be a small clause. They provide evidence supporting this positing from verbs of consumption in English and Italian. We will see that the $v_{\text{DO}}/v_{\text{CAUSE}}$ distinction turns out to be of considerable use in analyzing the properties of the causative constructions under consideration here.

The semantic and structural properties of v_{DO} and v_{CAUSE} are summarized in (7) below:

(7) Flavors of v°

v°	<i>Spec-vP</i>	<i>Comp-vP</i>
a. v_{DO}	Intentional agent	Nominal or Small Clause
b. v_{CAUSE}	Causer or agent	Small Clause

We can get some mileage out of this distinction in the analysis of the obligation effect mentioned above in section 2. We propose that in the FI construction, *fare* doesn't just take any vP complement; rather, it takes a vP headed by v_{DO} . If v_{DO} heads the vP in the complement of *fare*, it will have to take an intentional agent subject. Crucially the only way to cause an agent to intentionally do something is to oblige it to.

Support for this position comes from the facts presented below in (8). First, it is impossible for FI to embed a vP with a Causer external argument, rather than an Agent—the dative argument, in other words, must be intentional.

- (8) a. Il ramo/Maria ha rotto la finestra.
'The branch/Maria broke the window.'
- b. Gianni ha fatto rompere la finestra *al ramo/a Maria.
'John made *the branch/Maria to break the window.'

Even though either an intentional or non-intentional argument is appropriate with the transitive verb *rompere* 'break' in (8), this verb may not be embedded under FI with a non-intentional subject, as shown in (8). If the FI *fare* takes a v_{DO} complement, this restriction falls out, since v_{DO} requires an intentional subject. Folli and Harley (2004b) give further evidence from psych-verbs and stative verbs that the FI requires a v_{DO} complement.

Semantically, in the FI construction, the subject of *fare* is causing the whole embedded event: X DO Y. In other words, the subject of *fare* is bringing about an event that is accomplished spontaneously and intentionally by another entity. Under the semantics imposed by a causative verb such causation arises when the subject of *fare* obliges the subject of

the embedded verb to execute the embedded event. Hence, the implication is that the subject of *fare* is obliging the Causee to participate.

We have seen that the Agent in spec- v_{DO} *must* be intentional. It is important to recognize that the Causer interpretation assigned to its specifier by v_{CAUSE} may also of course be assigned to an intentional entity.³ What is crucial is that a Causer subject of v_{CAUSE} *may* be a non-intentional entity, as outlined in (7) above. We now turn to the consequences of the other restriction described in (7): the category of the complement.

The claim is that v_{DO} does not restrict the category of its complement — nominal complements to v_{DO} (as in Hale and Keyser's *DO a run*) are possible, as are small clause complements. Conversely, v_{CAUSE} restricts its complements to small clauses; nominal complements are not possible⁴. This has the following consequence:

- (9) If a v° takes a nominal complement, it will necessarily be v_{DO} , and hence require an intentional agent

This is crucial, because in the FP, in contrast, the complement is not a vP at all. Rather, we claim with Travis (1992) that it is a nominalized V . Notice that in Italian, the infinitive form of the verb is also a nominal form, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (10) a. [Questo continuo **parlare** di SARS]_{DP} infastidisce Marco.
 [This continuous talking of SARS] bothers Marco
 b. [Tutto quel **leggere** Dostojevsky] ha rovinato Marco.
 [All that reading Dostojevsky]_{DP} has wrecked Marco.

If the complement to FP *fare* is a nominal, then according to (9), that *fare* will be a v_{DO} . By the reasoning we have already employed above, then, the *fare* of the FP will have to take an intentional subject — the matrix Causer will have to be intentional. In fact, this turns out to be the case: the FP *fare* must have an animate matrix subject, as noted by Kayne but left unexplained (1975:242), while the FI *fare* need not:

- (11) La rabbia fece rompere il tavolo a Gianni/*da Gianni.
 The rage made break the table to Gianni/by Gianni.
 'Rage made Gianni break the table.'

³ The switch between an intentional and non-intentional action associated with the appearance of a small clause can be observed in the pair of examples below:

- (i) John threw the muffin.
 (ii) John threw up the muffin.

⁴ See Folli and Harley (2004a) for discussion.

The structural analysis proposed above, in combination with the slight enrichment in the inventory of external-argument-selecting little *v*s, then, can account for the usual range of facts discussed in the causative literature, as well as some surprising animacy-related selectional restrictions that are seldom treated. In the next section, we turn to a surprising and hitherto undiscovered set of facts concerning passivization of causatives of intransitive verbs, and show that they are predicted by the flavors of *v* account presented here.

4. Passives of *fare*: unaccusative and unergative verbs.

Up until now, all the examples of causatives that we have considered have been causatives of transitive verbs. When an intransitive verb is causativized, an interesting change in the case-marking patterns of the embedded clause appears. The embedded subject, rather than being marked dative as in the FI, (or appearing as an adjunct PP as in the FP) is marked with accusative case, as shown in (12) below:

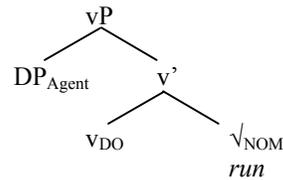
- (12) Gianni ha fatto correre/partire Maria / *a Maria
 Gianni has made run/leave Maria / *to Maria
 “Gianni made Maria run/leave.”

This accusative/dative alternation between causatives of transitive and intransitive verbs is one key indication that the dative on the embedded subject in a transitive causative is structural, rather than inherent (contra Ippolito (2001)).

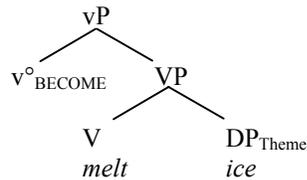
As discussed in Folli and Harley (2004b), we adopt a case-dependency account of the accusative/dative alternation on the Causee based on that proposed in Harley (1995). What is important for our purposes here is the predictions of the v_{DO}/VP_{NOM} analysis of the FI and FP complements about the interaction of causatives with the two kinds of intransitive verbs

Unergative verbs, of course, have a single external argument underlyingly, while unaccusative verbs have a single internal argument, and do not project an external argument at all. In a *vP* syntax, in particular, Hale and Keyser (1994 et seq.) analyze unergative verbs as nominal roots incorporating into an external-argument-selecting little *v* DO: verbs like *run* can be paraphrased in this analysis as ‘do a run’ or similar. Unaccusative verbs, in contrast, do not contain any external-argument-selecting little *v*; we assume that they contain a v_{BECOME} that introduces a change-of-state meaning. The structures we assume for unergative verbs like *run* and unaccusative like *melt* are given in (13) below:

(13) a. Unergative verbs

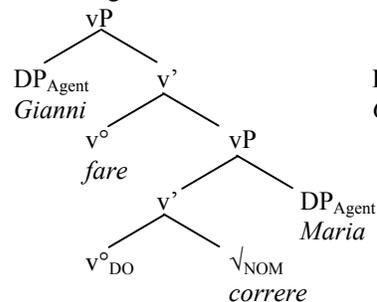


Unaccusative verbs

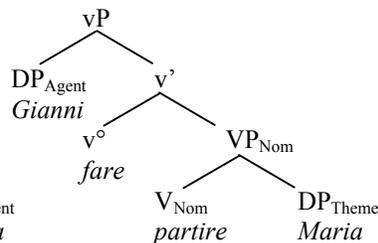


What happens when these verbs are embedded under causative *fare*? According to the theory presented above, the FI and FP causatives are formed with different categories of complement: FI *fare* takes a v_{DO} complement, while FP *fare* takes a nominal V as a complement, with no vP present at all, similar to the analyses in Ippolito (2001) and Landau (2002). Crucially, then, given that unaccusative verbs cannot occur with a v_{DO}, there can be no FI causative of an unaccusative verb. The only causative of an unaccusative verb that is possible, then, is the FP type, where the complement to *fare* is a nominal VP, without any vP present at all. In contrast, causatives of unergatives can *only* be FI, according to the theory here. The complements to FP-type causatives are structurally agentless, without a vP at all; however, without the agent-introducing v_{DO}, an unergative verb will have no arguments at all—there would be no place in the structure to introduce the embedded subject. Consequently, despite their surface similarity, causatives of unergative and unaccusative verbs must have quite different structures, if the present theory is correct. The structures of the two causatives are given in (14) below:

(14) a. Causative of unergative: FI



Causative of unaccusative: FP



This structural difference doesn't show up in linear order in active sentences, but it turns out that we can see the difference in passives of these causatives. Passives of causatives of unaccusatives are perfectly

grammatical, as shown in (15), while passives of causatives of unergatives are ungrammatical, as shown in (15).

- (15) a. Marco è stato fatto partire (da Gianni)..
 Marco is been made leave (by Gianni).
 ‘Marco was gotten to leave (da Gianni).’
 b. Marco è stato fatto cadere (da Gianni).
 Marco is been made fall (by Gianni).
 ‘Marco was gotten to fall (by Gianni).’
 c. Il pacchetto fu fatto arrivare (da Gianni).
 The package was made arrive (by Gianni).
 ‘The package was gotten to arrive (by Gianni).’
 d. *Marco è stato fatto telefonare (da Gianni).
 Marco is been made telephone (by Gianni).
 ‘Marco was gotten to telephone (by Gianni).’
 e. ??Marco è stato fatto ridere (da Gianni).
 Marco is been made laugh (by G.).
 ‘Marco was gotten to laugh (by Gianni).’
 f. ??Marco è stato fatto piangere (da Gianni).
 Marco is been made cry (by Gianni).
 ‘Marco was gotten to cry (by Gianni)’.

When we look at the passivized causative of a verb like *saltare*, ‘jump’, which can mean either unergative ‘jump’ or unaccusative ‘explode’, only the unaccusative version is acceptable under passivized *fare*:

- (16) a. Il ponte Vecchio fu fatto saltare.
 The Vecchio bridge was made to explode.
 b. ?? Marco fu fatto saltare.
 Marco was made to jump.

A Google search for *è stato fatto ridere* ‘was made to laugh’ and *è stato fatto piangere* ‘was made to cry’ turned up not a single hit, while *è stato fatto partire* ‘was made to leave’ turned up lots, and *è stato fatto saltare* ‘was made to jump/explode’ had many hits on the ‘explode’ meaning but none on the ‘jump’ meaning.

This difference, as far as we know previously unnoticed in the literature, constitutes additional evidence for the unergative/unaccusative distinction. Given the system of assumptions proposed in this paper, including the standard Hale and Keyser-style treatment of the unergatives and unaccusatives, we will argue that the pattern of passivizability observed above is in fact predicted.

This makes sense when we consider what exactly the operation of passive consists of in a vP framework. Passive formation in a language like

Italian involves replacing an agentive vP with a non-agentive one—changing out the Voice head, in Kratzer (1996)’s terms. The verbal participle *fatto* which occurs in the passive must not itself be a v° , but a V° —a *main* verb, in other words. When the verb *fare* is passivized and consequently shows up as a participle, it is behaving like main verb *fare*, not the light verb.

In our analysis above, we have proposed that the *fare* of the FI is a light verb—a default realization of an external-argument-selecting vP. If one were to try to passivize a *light* verb, there would be no residual participle. That is, a passive of the FI is impossible since it would involve switching v° heads from *fare* to something else, and no participial VP residue would remain.

Is there any reason to think that the FP *fare* is any different? We have so far assumed that it also is a light verb. However, since we have proposed that it takes the equivalent of a nominalization as its complement, the FP *fare* has a lot in common with the same *fare* that occurs in simple SVO constructions, i.e. with ‘main verb’ *fare*:

- (17) Gianni ha fatto una torta.
Gianni has made a cake.

This *fare* is, of course, passivizable:

- (18) Una torta fu fatta da Gianni.
A cake was made by Gianni.

In essence, the *fare* of the FP is much more like main verb *fare* than the *fare* of the FI. When a causative is passivized, the participle *fatto* guarantees that we are dealing with ‘main verb’ *fare*. Accordingly, we argue that there just *is* no passive of the FI.⁵ Passives of causatives must always be passives of FP, with a VP_{Nom} complement. The difference in passivizability of unergative and unaccusative causatives confirms the presence of a structural distinction between the two, a distinction predicted by the present analysis. More broadly, it constitutes a new piece of evidence

⁵ In French, *no* passives of causatives are acceptable, not even passives of causatives of unaccusatives:

- (i)*Jean a été fait arriver par Marie.
Jean has been made arrive by Marie.
Jean was made to arrive by Marie.

We speculate that French causative *faire* simply has no participle form — i.e. cannot be a main verb on any analysis. Consequently passivization of causative *faire* in French won’t be possible.

showing the structural reality of the unaccusative/unergative distinction in general.

5. Dative arguments in passive causatives

If the above line of reasoning is correct, i.e. if there are no passives of FI causatives, then even passives of causatives of transitive verbs cannot be FI causatives.

- (19) Il libro fu fatto leggere a Mario (da Gianni).
 The book was made read to Mario (by Gianni).
 “Mario was made to read the book (by Gianni).”

Here, we seem to have a passive of a FI, with a dative-marked embedded subject, where the embedded object has skipped over into the derived subject position. On the present analysis, it is impossible that these should really be passives of FI. Our hypothesis is that, when the *a* phrase is present in a passive of a causative, a benefactive has been formed on an FP. In support of this, consider the sentences below, which show that a benefactive of an FP is fine:

- (20) a. Gianni gli ha fatto riparare la macchina (dal meccanico).
 Gianni to.him has made repair the car (by.the mechanic)
 ‘Gianni had the car repaired (by the mechanic) for him.’
 b. Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina a Mario (?dal meccanico)⁶
 Gianni has made repair the car to Mario (by-the mechanic).
 ‘Gianni had the car repaired (by the mechanic) for Mario.’
 c. Le è stata fatta riparare la macchina (dal meccanico).
 To.her was made repaired the car (by.the mechanic).
 ‘For her, the car was made to be repaired (by the mechanic).’

As (20) show, the FP construction can also include a benefactive *a*-phrase, and a passive including that benefactive *a*-phrase is possible, as in

⁶ This sentence is grammatical, but marked. For certain speakers it improves if the beneficiary *a Marco* is in clause final position as in:

- (i) ?Gianni ha fatto riparare la macchina dal meccanico, a Mario⁶
 Gianni has made repair the car by-the mechanic, to Mario .
 “Gianni had the car repaired by the mechanic for Mario.”

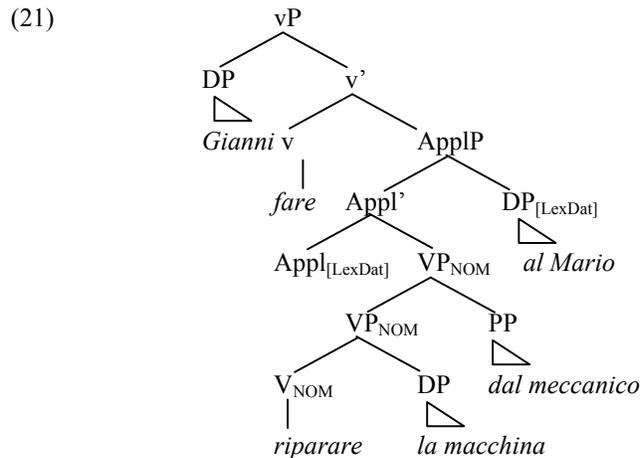
What is crucial for the argument to go through is that the beneficiary argument CAN be present and this is supported by the perfect grammaticality of the example with the clitic in (20)a, suggesting that the markedness of the examples with the full DP is due to processing load.

(19) or(20).⁷ We conclude that these are FP passives, not passives of FI, and that the *a*-phrase in passive causatives is an introduced benefactive, not an external argument.

One last problem then has to be addressed. Why can't benefactive arguments be the subject of passives?

We follow Ippolito (2001), Pytkannen (2002) in assuming that a benefactive argument receives lexical dative case from the applicative head which introduces it, and hence cannot check nominative case when the FP is passivized.

As argued above, the fact that the FP can allow a benefactive *a*-phrase is the reason why we see passives of causatives that contain an *a*-phrase, as in (19) and (20) above. The structure of a FP with a lexical-dative-assigning APPL head introducing the benefactive argument is shown in (21):



This Applicative head can introduce a benefactee/malefactee *a*-phrase into any FP construction, including into an unaccusative one:

- (22) Gianni ha fatto arrivare il pacchetto a Maria/*da Maria
John caused the packet to arrive for Maria

⁷ Interestingly, the subject of a passive like that in (20)c, when there is a dative clitic, may not occur preverbally:

(i) *La macchina le è stata fatta riparare (dal meccanico).

The car to.her is been made repaired (by.the mechanic)

We do not have an account for this to offer, but it may be related to the A-movement locality effects observed in Icelandic raising verbs with dative experiencers discussed by McGinnis (1998).

(Maria=beneficiary, not deliverer)

The lexically case-marked benefactee is not involved in the structural case domain of the clause and does not, consequently, raise to subject position in a passive.⁸

Of course, since the *da*-phrase in the FP is optional, the availability of benefactives of the FP means that most *DP fare V DP a DP* strings have two analyses: an FI one and an FP+benefactive one, which we believe is the basis of some previous misanalyses of FIs constructions as benefactives. This structural ambiguity is only distinguished in two classes of verbs: causatives of unergative verbs (which don't have a FP analysis) and causatives of agentless verbs like unaccusatives (which don't have a FI analysis, since they can't co-occur with v_{DO}). Causatives of transitive agentive verbs, however, will be string-ambiguous between an FI and a benefactived FP without the *da*-phrase. The sure way to force an FP reading, of course, is to either add a *by*-phrase, or to passivize *fare*.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, we have looked at the formation of FI and FP constructions in Italian. We showed how the fact that FIs create a sense of obligation on the Causee absent in the FPs is due to a fundamental difference between the two constructions. FIs are formed with a light verb *fare*, which takes as a complement a vP headed by v_{DO} . The v_{DO} , which introduces the Causee agent into the embedded event, ensures that the Causee must be acting under his/her own volition. Since the only way of causing someone to act under their own volition is to oblige them to in one way or another, the FI implies obligation.

FPs, on the other hand, contain a *fare* which takes a structurally agentless nominalized VP complement, just as the main verb of creation *fare* can take a nominal complement. The *da*-phrase in the FP is an optional adjunct. The absence of a structural vP in nominalizations accounts for the contrast in binding and idiom possibilities between the FP and the FI.

Finally, we identified a puzzling difference between embedded unergative and unaccusative verbs in passivized causatives: the former are ungrammatical, while the latter are fine. This suggests that the passivized causatives are FPs, not FIs, since FIs, requiring v_{DO} , are fine with embedded unergatives, while FPs, embedding only a structurally agentless

⁸ With Pylkannen (2002), we assume that the 'high' dative arguments of ditransitive verbs in Italian are also introduced by this applicative, and hence do not passivize:

(i) *Gianni è statto dato un libro da Mario.
Gianni was given a book by Mario.

nominalized V, are predicted to be impossible with unergatives, In this case the only argument of an unergative would be eliminated due to the absence of an embedded vP in the FP.

The account presented here provides an explanation for a wide constellation of facts concerning the Italian causative. In particular, the sense of obligation on the Causee in the FI, and the unavailability of a passive of a causative of an unergative verb are accounted for.

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